

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 155438
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O GOLDSMITH

APPROVED BY: S/S-O: S GOLDMSITH

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O 051754Z JUL 77 ZFF4

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 155438

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 10991 ACTION SECSTATE JULY 5.

QUOTE LONDON 10991

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BREWSTER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RH, SF, BH, ECIN, XF, UK

SUBJECT: LUNCHEON MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY

REF: LONDON 10940, 10941

1. AN HOUR AND A HALF PRIVATE LUNCH AT OWEN'S OFFICE
FRIDAY WAS MY FIRST CHANCE TO SOUND HIM OUT ON A BROAD
RANGE OF SUBJECTS. HE CAME DIRECTLY FROM A MEETING OF
THE CABINET SUB-GROUP ON AFRICAN POLICY TO WHICH HE HAD
PRESENTED FOR THE FIRST TIME HIS RHODESIAN PACKAGE. HE

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SAID IT WAS LIKELY TO GO TO THE FULL CABINET NEXT THURS-
DAY FOR PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION. IF FORMAL CABINET APPRO-
VAL AND AUTHORIZATION IS TO BE OBTAINED, IT WOULD HAVE TO
BE NO LATER THAN LAST MEETING ON JULY 28TH. HE WAS NOT
SURE WHETHER IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO PREPARE WHITE PAPER
OR NOT.

2. THE STICKING POINT WITH THE CABINET WILL BE THE BRITISH CONTINGENT FOR A TRANSITIONAL FORCE. OWEN AGREES THAT TRANSITIONAL FORCE IS A PREFERABLE DESCRIPTION THAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, PARTLY TO AVOID UNFORTUNATE ANALOGIES, PARTLY BECAUSE IT ANTICIPATES EARLY WITHDRAWAL. THE TOUGHEST TACTICAL PROBLEM IS DEMOBILIZATION OF BOTH THE GUERRILLAS AND THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. THE PRESENT PLAN CALLS FOR THE LATTER TO DEMOBILIZE AND ONLY A CEASE-FIRE FOR THE FORMER BACKED BY FRONT LINE AGREEMENT NOT TO PROVIDE SANCTUARY. I URGED AT LEAST A STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF DEMOBILIZATION OF GUERRILLAS AS PART OF THE PACKAGE, EVEN THOUGH IN PRACTICE IT WOULD BE HARD TO ASSURE.

3. OWEN SEEMED TO AGREE. HE FOUND YOUR LETTER VERY HELPFUL, AND SAID THAT HE PROBABLY MADE MORE OF IT THAN IT INTENDED, BUT ITS TIMING WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL IN FIRST ROUND OF CABINET DISCUSSIONS. OWEN SAID IT WOULD MAKE THE DEVELOPMENT FUND CONTINUATION CONTINGENT UPON STRICT OBSERVANCE OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND SAFEGUARDS IN THE CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING AN OBLIGATION TO HONOR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS (SUCH AS PENSIONS) OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT.

4. ON BOTH THE FUND AND LOGISTIC AND TRANSPORT PARTICIPATION BY THE U.S., OWEN SAID THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO
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COME TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH YOU, THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AFTER HE HAS BACKING OF FULL CABINET. HE STILL WANTS TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO SELL THE PACKAGE IN AFRICA. OWEN THINKS A PRELIMINARY TRIP TO NIGERIA MAY PROVE IMPORTANT SINCE HE CONTEMPLATES A NIGERIAN AS A POSSIBLE COMMANDER OF THE TRANSITIONAL FORCE. HE ALSO AGREES THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND OTHER NATIONALISTS SHOULD BE SEEN BEFORE HE SEES VORSTER AND SMITH. FOR THE MOMENT HE AGREES THAT SEPARATE VISITS IN RAPID SUCCESSION IS BETTER THAN A PLENARY GATHERING OF ALL PARTIES, SINCE IT ALLOWS MORE FLEXIBILITY AND PREVENTS CONCLUSIVE FAILURE. HE LEANS TO THE COMMONWEALTH RATHER THAN TO THE U.N. AS THE SPONSOR OF THE TRANSITIONAL FORCE, ALTHOUGH LACK OF A COMMONWEALTH STRUCTURE WOULD MEAN THE BRITISH PROBABLY HAD TO ASSUME MANAGERIAL BACKUP. OWEN SAID HE PLANS A NEEDED VACATION FIRST TEN DAYS IN AUGUST, SO THE WASHINGTON VISIT MIGHT BE MID-AUGUST IF IT SEEMED USEFUL.

5. OWEN WAS ADAMANT IN THE U.K.'S UNWILLINGNESS TO JOIN ANY SANCTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF ITS INTERNAL POLICIES. (THIS PRESUMABLY DOES NOT APPLY

TO SANCTIONS WHICH MIGHT INDIRECTLY INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA ALTHOUGH DIRECTED MORE BROADLY AT ANY STATE DEALING WITH RHODESIA, IF THAT PROVES NECESSARY IN ORDER TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON SMITH.) THE U.K. WOULD VETO ANY U.N. SANCTIONS AIMED EXPLICITLY AT SOUTH AFRICA SIMPLY BECAUSE BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS AND INVESTMENTS IS SO GREAT. FROM THIS CONVERSATION AND A PRIOR CONVERSATION WITH GRAHAM AND MANSFIELD, I GATHER THAT A LARGE PART OF THE BRITISH STEAM BEHIND RHODESIAN SOLUTION IS TO GET RID OF U.N. SANCTIONS AND TO AVOID THEIR SPREAD TO SOUTH AFRICA. ALSO THIS LINE OF REASONING SEEMS TO BE A MAJOR PART OF U.K. PERSUASIVENESS WITH VORSTER TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH TO COOPERATE WITH TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. IF THIS IS CORRECT
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THEY WILL TAKE A DIM VIEW OF ANY EFFORT TO DIRECT SANCTIONS EXPLICITLY AT SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH SANCTIONS, LIKE INSISTENCE ON MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA, MIGHT UPSET THE STRATEGY ON RHODESIA. THIS IS ONLY MY SURMISE AND I WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO TEST IT OUT IN LATER CONVERSATION WITH OWEN.

6. ON A TIMETABLE, HE IS MORE RELAXED THAN HIS STATED DEADLINES AND INTENTIONS INDICATE. HE HAS A FEELING THAT IF HE DOESN'T PUSH HARD NOTHING WILL HAPPEN. ALSO HE IS CONCERNED THAT A DELAY MAY MAKE NATIONALISTS MORE INTRANSIGENT AS THEY SMELL GUERRILLA SUCCESS; IT MAY INVITE SOVIET OR CUBAN INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF ONE OR MORE FRONT LINE COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY MOZAMBIQUE; AND IT MAY TEMPT UNCONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE AND ATTEMPTED ACTION IN U.N.

7. ON THE SUBJECT OF BELIZE, OWEN SAID THAT HE HAD REJECTED CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM THE MILITARY TO SEND A CARRIER OR OTHER SHOW OF FORCE IN THE AREA. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR AND AGREED WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF YOUR LETTER, EXCEPT THAT HE SEES NO WAY IN WHICH THE U.K. CAN INITIATE CEDING OF BELIZIAN TERRITORY. RECENT COMMONWEALTH SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR BELIZE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE U.K. TO INITIATE GIVING AWAY ANY OF THEIR LAND. IF THE PROPOSAL CAME FROM THE GUATAMALANS IN CONJUNCTION WITH A GUARANTY OF THE INTEGRITY OF BELIZE THEN IT COULD BE LISTENED TO. OWEN AUTHORIZES US TO SAY THAT THE U.K. HAS NO INTENTION TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND WILL NOT TAKE THE MOVE IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD SURPRISE THE GUATAMALANS. HE SAID THAT ROWLANDS' TIMETABLE IS HIS OWN PERSONAL ESTIMATE, NOT OWEN'S. HE CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC BY STATING THAT HE IS INTENSELY INTERESTED IN ANY INFORMATION OR JUDGMENT ABOUT
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GUATAMALAN INTENTIONS.

8. TOWARD THE END OF CONVERSATION OWEN SAID WITH SOME SENSE OF INSISTENT WARNING THAT THE EUROPEAN SITUATION IS VERY DISQUIETING. HE SAID THAT FRANCE AND GERMANY ARE QUITE UPSET BY THE EFFECT OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE ON DETENTE. I GATHER THIS MUST HAVE BEEN STRONGLY EXPRESSED AT THE RECENT E.C. SUMMIT IN LONDON. OWEN REITERATED HIS OWN PERSONAL SUPPORT OF THE U.S. POSITION, BUT SEEMED GENUINELY DISTRESSED AT THE GROWING HOSTILITY OF THE GERMANS AND THE FRENCH ON THE QUESTION OF SOURING OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. MY PERSONAL SURMISE IS THAT THE GERMANS DO HAVE A FEAR THAT IT WILL PREJUDICE EAST-WEST GERMAN DETENTE WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO THE SDP AND THAT THE FRENCH ARE SUPPORTING THEM IN THEIR CRITICAL STATEMENTS ABOUT U.S. FOR HISTORIC REASONS, PERHAPS FANNED BY RECENT BREZHNEV VISIT.

9. OUR LAST TOPIC OF DISCUSSION WAS THE MIDDLE EAST. OWEN INDICATED THAT THE U.K. WILL TAKE A PUBLIC STANCE AS MEMBER OF THE NINE, BUT IS WILLING TO DO ANYTHING DIPLOMATICALLY WHICH WE THINK WOULD BE HELPFUL. HE SEES THE U.K. IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SPECTRUM OF EUROPEAN FEELINGS ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE, THOUGH THEY HAVE OBVIOUSLY MOVED RECENTLY TO A MORE OVERT CHAMPIONING OF A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND. I GATHER THAT THE ONE ISSUE WHICH WOULD BRING HAROLD WILSON OUT OF BENIGN AND SILENT RETIREMENT IN A MANNER DISRUPTIVE OF GOVERNMENT STABILITY WOULD BE IF HE FELT THAT THE GOVERNMENT POSITION WAS JEOPARDIZING ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

10. OWEN SEEMED CONFIDENT OF DURABILITY OF LI-LAB PACT AND HENCE OF GOVERNMENT. HE IS HIMSELF AMAZED AND OBVIOUSLY PLEASED AT THE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT HE RECEIVES FROM THE P.M. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, MICHAEL PALLISER ASSERTS THAT HE HAS NEVER SEEN A FOREIGN SECRET

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TARY WITH SUCH TOTAL BACKING FROM P.M. ALL-IN-ALL, IT WAS A VERY ENJOYABLE AND TO ME INFORMATIVE DISCUSSION OF VIEWS WHICH OWEN WOULD APPARENTLY LIKE TO CONTINUE FROM TIME TO TIME.

BREWSTER UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY ASSISTANCE, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MEETINGS, CAT-B, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 05-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE155438
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O GOLDSMITH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770004-0127
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770791/aaaadbeq.tel
Line Count: 223
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fa135171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 LONDON 10940
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1964574
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LUNCHEON MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY
TAGS: MARR, ECIN, PDIP, PDEV, RH, SF, BH, XF, UK, (OWEN, DAVID)
To: WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fa135171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009